The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

Library of the Public
Archives of Canada

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol → (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ▽ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:

L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

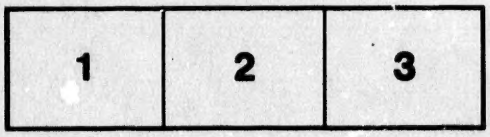
La bibliothèque des Archives
publiques du Canada

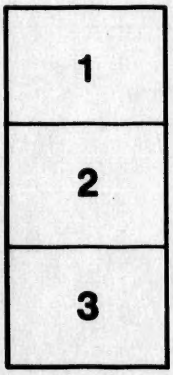
Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

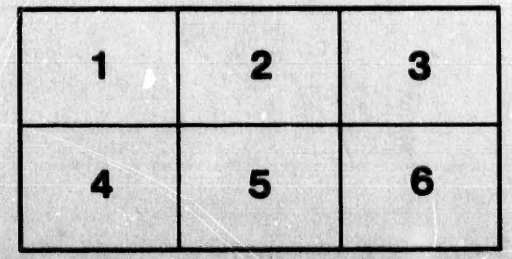
Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole → signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ▽ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.







A

LETTER

TO

L——d TH——W.

A

LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

L——d T H————W.

L—d H—h C——r of E——d.

&c. &c. &c.

Diſce|docendus adhuc quæ cenſet amiculus: ut ſi
Cæcus iter monſtrare velit; tamen aſpice, ſi quid
Et nos quod cures proprium feciſſe, loquamur.

HOR. *Ep.* 17. *Lib.* 1. *Ver.* 3.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR R. FAULDER, NEW BOND STREET.

MDCCLXXX.

A

LETTER

TO

L---d T-------W.

My Lord,

THE confidential ſervants of the Crown, in whoſe hands the adminiſtration of Government is placed, naturally become the objects of public attention; and in times of national calamity, thoſe who are ſuppoſed to be endowed with ſuperior abilities, are particularly called upon to exert thoſe abilities, in order to remedy paſt, or prevent future misfortunes. Troubleſome (however honourable) as this diſtinction may be to individuals, the public hath a right to make it; and your Lordſhip's colleagues in office, cannot, I preſume, reaſonably be offended, if, upon this ground, one of that public chuſes to addreſs your Lordſhip.

Thus much I thought neceſſary to premiſe, in order to aſſign my reaſon for troubling your Lordſhip, in preference to any other of the King's Miniſters, though, perhaps, I may be thought *premature* in my deciſion, conſidering the recent appointment (happily contrived to prevent jealouſies) of a Scotch and Iriſh ſecretary of ſtate, together with a new Preſident of the Council, who, indeed, is Engliſh, and conſequently, as far as the caſual circumſtance of birth can avail, poſſeſſed of one qualification at leaſt in common with your Lordſhip.

I have, in ſhort, my Lord, taken the liberty of addreſſing the following lines to You, tho' your Lordſhip may, perhaps, think them below your notice, and conceive they might with more propriety have been thrown by, amidſt the other rubbiſh of the Cabinet, under the auſpices of Lord G—— G——, or his Lordſhip's not unſucceſsful competitor for public odium, the E— of S——h.

Government, my Lord, in a country like ours, lies open to a thouſand miſrepreſentations:—where each man has a right to comment upon it, freedom will now and then degenerate into licentiouſneſs; and careleſs and unthinking people

people will impute thoſe evils to Government itſelf, which ought only to be attributed to the bad adminiſtration of it. But great care ſhould be taken to make a due diſtinction between the thing itſelf, and the management of it: the difference is eſſential: the moſt ſalutary medicine in the hands of ignorance, may prove as fatal as the moſt noxious poiſon: the beſt government, ill adminiſtered, may become deſtructive, and produce every miſchief it was inſtituted to prevent.

How far this caution may be neceſſary, or in any degree applicable to the ſtate and temper of the preſent times, muſt be left to your Lordſhip's better judgment to pronounce.

Convinced, however, as I am, that diſſenſions in the Cabinet *muſt neceſſarily produce* thoſe evils I have juſt alluded to; and that a weak and puſillanimous miniſtry, ſtill more enfeebled by the late ſeceſſion, *throw a diſgrace* upon Government itſelf—I call upon your Lordſhip to ſtand forth at this critical juncture, *to repair* the blunders of your colleagues; and, by a due exertion of that manly ſpirit you poſſeſs, to reſtore dignity to Government, and confidence in that Government to the nation at large.

The

The epithets weak and puſillanimous, which I have applied to the miniſtry, may appear harſh.—Are they ill founded? Could any but an adminiſtration of that deſcription, ſupported by great majorities in parliament, ſuppoſed to enjoy in the higheſt degree the confidence of their Sovereign, have reduced the empire to it's preſent melancholy (though, I truſt, not deſperate) ſituation? From ſuch an adminiſtration alone, could repeated aſſiſtance have continually met with repeated diſappointment.

Could any but ſuch an adminiſtration, with the grant of repeated aids to the fulleſt extent of their demands, have had nothing in return to produce, year after year, but repeated apologies for repeated diſappointments and miſcarriages.

It is but a poor conſolation, my Lord, to reflect, that thoſe evils which now ſurround us, are to be attributed to this or that particular ſet of men; all naturally wiſh to throw the weight of cenſure off their own ſhoulders; and ſeem to think the juſtification of their own reſpective parties, an object of more momentous concern, than the well being, I had almoſt ſaid, the very exiſtence of the ſtate.

This

This complaint againſt parties, however juſt, is common to the very nature of them, and may be traced up to Satan, the firſt head of a party we read of; as indeed he was the firſt great perſonage whoſe diſmiſſion is recorded in hiſtory. From him and his followers, much of that ſpirit of party which has ſo long diſgraced both ſides of the queſtion, ſeems to have been derived.

I ſhall trouble your Lordſhip no farther upon party in general, than by recalling to your remembrance one ſingle ſentence from Lord Bolingbroke's Diſſertation on Parties, Letter I. "It is time that all who deſire to be eſteemed good men, and to procure the peace, the ſtrength, and the glory of their country, by *the only means* by which they can be procured effectually, ſhould join their efforts to heal our national diviſions, and to change the narrow ſpirit of party into a diffuſive ſpirit of public benevolence." I ſhall preſume, however, ſo far to comment upon the noble author, as to interpret *the only means*, ſo as to imply the diſmiſſion of three of the preſent Miniſters from their reſpective offices. This advice, my Lord, violent as it may appear, is founded upon the following motives;

Firſt,

First, The abſolute neceſſity for an eſſential change of men and meaſures in his Majeſty's councils.

Secondly, The characters of theſe three Miniſters, ſo far as they are connected with, or can influence their public capacity or conduct.

It is, I believe, univerſally allowed, that no prince ever mounted the throne with ſo fair a proſpect of a glorious and happy reign, as his preſent Majeſty did, when the government devolved upon him in the year 1760. A ſeries of great and brilliant ſucceſſes, during the war, in all quarters of the globe, had carried the nation to a degree of importance, unknown in the moſt brilliant periods of our hiſtory; and when the good old King was gathered from us, he laid down his venerable head, not fuller of years than honour. Conqueſt continued to follow the Britiſh arms; and, as ſomething ſtill was wanting to complete our triumph, Spain was induced by France to join her quarrel, and to contribute her ſhare of trophies, to decorate the throne of the young Britiſh monarch.

In 1763, peace was ſigned between the contending powers. I ſhall not trouble your Lord-

ſhip

ſhip with the merits or demerits of that treaty, but ſhall only obſerve, that when Peace did come, ſhe appeared unaccompanied with thoſe Bleſſings her almoſt conſtant attendants. Inſtead of Concord, Faction ſtalked foremoſt in her train, and ſcarce were our hoſtile exertions terminated, when internal diviſions, domeſtic feuds, aroſe, and ſpread their baneful influence thro' every part of the Empire. Under theſe inauſpicious appearances, amidſt the threatening clouds which darkened almoſt every part of the political horizon, it ſtill was ſunſhine over head; the quiet and diſpaſſionate looked up to government, and called upon thoſe in whoſe hands the adminiſtration of it was depoſited, in order to diſpel the growing tempeſt, and reſtore ſerenity to the troubled ſky. How were theſe expectations anſwered? Every former idea of government ſeemed already obſolete, and no new plan appeared to be form'd in lieu of them; the only ground upon which the miniſters ſeemed agreed to proceed, was to act in direct oppoſition to every meaſure of the late reign; and, as if ſurfeited with the repeated benefits ariſing from that ſyſtem, to adopt a conduct as diſſonant from it in it's nature, as it has ſince been found diametrically oppoſite to it in it's effects. In ſhort, my lord, the hiſtory of the then adminiſtration might be

eaſily

eaſily miſtaken for that of the preſent, and will alike afford to impartial poſterity little more, either for amuſement or inſtruction, than a kind of political chaos, a cabinet of ſhreds and patches; with this difference however, the deliberations of the former, were in a manner, confined to domeſtic matters; thoſe of the latter have been directed to more extenſive and more important objects: but, in the reſult, they perfectly agree; their conſultations equally fatal to the country, have ended in nothing, but either uſeleſs, ill-timed exertion, or misjudged unſatisfactory relaxation of Authority.

The interval however, between theſe two adminiſtrations, ſhould not be paſſed over without ſome notice. In the year 1765, an Adminiſtration was formed under the immediate auſpices of a Prince of the blood, whoſe character, independant of his high birth, furniſhed the moſt reaſonable hope, that every cauſe of complaint would be done away, and the King appear in the moſt ſplendid ſituation a King can appear in, enthroned in the hearts of his ſubjects. This agreeable proſpect was ſtill heightened by the ſituation of thoſe who compoſed the then Adminiſtration: men of the firſt property in the Kingdom, ſtaunch friends to the reigning family,

family, and poſſeſſing *public* confidence;—ſomething however, ſtill was wanting to give weight to their meaſures, or even permanency to their ſituation. Their Patron died in the October following—they may be ſaid in a political ſenſe, to have lingered on till the next ſummer, and then expired. The ſhort duration of this adminiſtration, and the grounds upon which they did, and meant to have acted, will give it the air of a parentheſis in the hiſtory of the Reign.

An adminiſtration which was called Lord Chatham's, was the next in rotation; but, whether owing to the bad health of that great man, or to what cauſe I know not, it appears as if he had lent his name to them, and nothing elſe; it was not very long before he quitted them; and ſoon after, ſeveral of the members of the preſent, were inſinuated into that adminiſtration they ſoon overpowered the remaining few, whom, I may call original members, and boldly (perhaps raſhly) ſet up for themſelves.

The American war broke out; how that war has been conducted; what Alliances have been formed to counterbalance the hoſtile deſigns of our neighbours, now leagued with our revolted colonies; what ſteps were taken to prevent the

junction of the combined fleet; what leisure has been given to our European enemies, to arm and act against us—the public will, I hope, e'er long be informed of. If these are not sufficient to destroy the least confidence in our present ministry, I would call your Lordship's attention to Ireland—it is not the laying a few papers of imports and exports before the two houses, that will satisfy the Parliament, or the people of this country, in regard to the state of Ireland. No, ministers have shamefully neglected the mutual interests of both Kingdoms; and will, I trust, be made to answer for it. It is not the paltry subterfuge of the Minister of this or that particular department, upon which the blame lies, saying, he acted with the consent of the rest of the cabinet, that is to satisfy public enquiry. The whole cabinet is responsible: and if one individual screens himself behind his colleagues, the accusation must be general, in order to come at the truth.—If the measures of the King's servants have been such, as to justify the making the above enquiry, is it prudent or safe to pursue them farther? the dear bought experience of five melancholy years, is a sufficient answer to the question. Or can we entertain any well grounded hope, that those men, who have dictated, or at least adopted such measures, and

thereby

thereby brought us to the very brink of ruin, merit any longer the public confidence? A brief ſketch of their reſpective characters will, I think, fully ſatisfy us in that particular.

The noble lord at preſent firſt C———r of the T———y and C———r of the E———r, from his ſituation, naturally preſents himſelf the firſt to our conſideration. Though his Lordſhip cannot, I think, lay any claim to the character of a great miniſter, he certainly is entitled to that of a good man; and viewed in a domeſtic light, it is not flattery to look upon him as equalled by few, excelled by none: and whether we conſider him in the capacity of a a Father, Son, Huſband, or Friend, it would be detraction not to pronounce him an exemplary character. Few people can boaſt a greater ſhare of that kind of pleaſantry which ſets the table in a roar, and ſerves to enliven converſation. Tho' certainly not to be reckoned among our firſt wits, he poſſeſſes an infinite fund of humour, which now and then, indeed, ſhews itſelf in improper places, and during the moſt important deliberations. He certainly is a moſt excellent companion, and tho' his ſallies are always lively and ſharp pointed, I never knew him accuſed of ſaying an ill natured thing. The qualities of his heart have never

never been, I believe, called in queſtion; and ſo long as good intentions, joined to probity and integrity, remain reſpectable among mankind, his Lordſhip never can want an Advocate.

Happy had it been for that noble Lord, fortunate for his country, had fate ordained him to have lived in leſs buſtling times, or to have co-operated with ſome great and active miniſter. Under the direction of the late Earl of Chatham, when in the full vigour of his abilities, Lord N——h might have proved no deſpicable miniſter; but his Lordſhip never poſſeſſed that degree either of diſcerment or activity ſo eſſentially neceſſary for the ſituation he is placed in.

Indolence, my Lord, conſidered as a quality in individuals, may be paſſed over as *inſipid*; in miniſters it becomes criminal; they have the public welfare to anſwer for. Indolence in them may equally permit the moſt fatal, or prevent the moſt ſalutary meaſures from being carried into execution; and it is of little importance to the nation, whether a miniſter poſſeſſes the beſt or worſt qualities, if his indolence is of ſo confirmed a nature, as to prevent the effect of either.

That

That inactivity, the natural reſult of habitual indolence, has been the characteriſtic of L——d N——h's adminiſtration, is a truth too well known to your Lordſhip to need any arguments in ſupport of it. And ſurely, my Lord, in times like theſe, when the moſt vigourous meaſures, reſulting from manly and deciſive councils, are abſolutely neceſſary to enable us to ſtruggle againſt the complicated miſchief that ſurrounds us, indolence is guilt, and the public intereſt demands it ſhould no longer be permitted to diſgrace our councils. The nation has an undoubted right to expect eſſential ſervice—an active line of conduct in thoſe, to whom it's moſt important rights and intereſts are confided; and no private conſideration ought to juſtify public neglect. The *motives* which induced Lewis XIV. to the diſmiſſion of M. de Chaimellart are not inapplicable to our preſent ſubject—La cauſe de la diſgrace de M. de Chamellart, (ſays the Marſhal de Berwick in his memoirs) venoit du dechainement * de tout le monde contre lui, de maniere

* The general tenor of this paſſage appearing to the author's idea, ſo conſonant to the preſent political ſituation of the noble Lord, it was thought improper to alter any expreſſion in it, otherwiſe he would have ſubſtituted a leſs harſh expreſſion in lieu of dechainement, which cannot with propriety be applied in the preſent inſtance, as the above character of his Lordſhip ſufficiently evinces.

maniere que Le Roi, *vu le bouleverſement General des affaires* ne crut pas devoir le maintenir en place plus long temps, malgre l'amitie perſonelle qu'il avoit pour lui. Il faut avouer qu'il *etoit un bon homme* qui avoit de tres bonnes intentions mais il avoit ſi peu de genie qu'il eſt etonnant comment le Roi avoit pu le choiſir pour miniſtre o[illegible] du moins le garder ſi long temps au hazard du tout qui *en revenoit journellement a ſes affaires.*

This deſcription of the French miniſter in 1709, to my idea, correſponds ſo much with that of the Engliſh miniſter ſeventy years afterwards, that I could not help troubling your Lordſhip with a recital of it.

I ſhall now leave this noble Lord with this ſhort farewell—I think his removal neceſſary for the public ſervice: but however I may diſlike the Miniſter, I cannot but eſteem the Man.

The character of the firſt C———r of the A——y, ſo far as is neceſſary for the preſent purpoſe, may be comprized in a very ſmall compaſs, it being in almoſt every one reſpect the direct contrary to L——d N———h's. It may be neceſſary, however, to mention one particular

ticular circumſtance of this noble Lord, which we wiſh to attribute to his want of memory (no ſmall defect, by the by, in a great political character) that is, his poſitively aſſerting facts in one ſeſſion, which his Lordſhip as ſtrenuouſly denies in another. This, with other ſimilar circumſtances, all, without doubt, ariſing from the ſame cauſe, have produced one diſagreeable effect—an almoſt univerſal want of confidence in his L——p's integrity. Were further particulars neceſſary, I would refer your Lordſhip to the whole fleet of England, but flatter myſelf no new argument is wanting to prove, that the removal of this miniſter is devoutly to be wiſhed.

The S——y of S——e for the A——n D——t, preſents the laſt, tho' by no means the leaſt ſubject for diſcuſſion. The hiſtory of this Perſon would furniſh matter to ſupply a volume, were it neceſſary, from the ſingle conſideration of a man cruſhed (as one ſhould have thought) beneath a load of ignominy, daring to offer, or being ſuffered to intrude himſelf upon the nation in a great public character. Poſterity will ſcarcely credit the fact; nay the recital almoſt ſtaggers the faith of thoſe who have been eye witneſſes to it, and muſt to no inconſiderable degree have ſurprized the noble Lord himſelf, I call

call him noble, for by *birth* he is ſo) if his memory retains the leaſt trace of certain circumſtances which happened at a very early period of the preſent reign. His Lordſhip will find it no ſmall difficulty, be his abilities what they may, to account for his own promotion. If aſked by himſelf, it was a proof of unprecedented weakneſs; if recommended by others, let them be anſwerable for it, if living; accurſed be their memory, if now no more. In either caſe, it was a diſgrace upon every ſoldier, every individual man of honour in the kingdom; a ſtur caſt upon the ſacred memory of the deceaſed Monarch, and an inſult upon the Public. However notorious his Lordſhip's preſumption or his ambition might be, thoſe abilities which he has been ſuppoſed to poſſeſs, one ſhould have thought might have produced a moderate ſhare of common ſenſe; this however does not appear to have been the caſe; for ſuppoſing him to have had the ſmalleſt portion of it, he muſt have remained contented with his late ſituation—affluent in his circumſtances, he found himſelf beyond the reach of want: His behavour at M——n, tho' from it's enormous criminality not to be forgot, was, though generally, yet humanely remembered. Had his Lordſhip remained quiet, the length of time which had elapſed, joined to the humanity, that envied characteriſtic, of the nation, would

would have permitted him to have lived the remainder of his days in a more tranquil, quiet ſtate, than his unfortunate conduct could ever have allowed him to flatter himſelf with the hopes of experiencing. I muſt call him unfortuate, for to have merited public deteſtation muſt be the higheſt degree of misfortune.

The miniſtry who have received him their colleague, are ſurely in that reſpect culpable; ſo to a certain degree are all thoſe who have ſupported a Miniſtry of which he was a member, whether in parliament or elſewhere. To this charge, my Lord, I, as an individual, plead guilty. No matter in what ſphere of life I move—The only excuſe I can make to my own conſcience, is the reputation of the great political abilities I had heard aſcribed to him—abilities, which conſidering the ſituation we were in, I thought might juſtify an appointment, which, in regard to every other conſideration, I could not but abhor.

The fruits of his Lordſhip's councils will fully explain how far my expectations have been anſwered. I ſhall now, my Lord, beg leave to quit this diſagreeable ſubject, with only obſerving, that this Lord is ſurely the moſt ſtriking, if not the only example, of the ſame perſon

having, at two ſuch remote periods, and in ſuch different lines, brought, or at leaſt ſo amply contributed to bring, diſgrace upon his Country. I believe, indeed, no other country would have ſuffered the experiment to have been tried a ſecond time, by employing a perſon under ſimilar diſadvantages—at the former period he could not effect it further than perſonally to himſelf. Pray Heaven his efforts of the ſame ſort, may not at the latter meet with a more general ſucceſs!

Such, my Lord, are the characters of three of the leading Cabinet Miniſters: and are theſe men of ſo peculiar a nature as to derive confidence from ill ſucceſs, or to demand ſupport in return for diſappointment? They themſelves cannot, I ſhould think, reproach with any degree of juſtice, thoſe who have hitherto ſupported them, and who now withdraw their ſupport from them. Great numbers in both houſes, who have hitherto voted with them, acted, I truſt, upon fair and honourable principles. Parliament could no further be concerned than in judging of the practicability, expediency, or propriety of certain meaſures. The moment ſuch meaſures obtained the ſanction of parliamentary approbation, it became incumbent on the executive power

to

to carry them into execution. Every aſſiſtance the nation could beſtow, miniſters have received: not only heavy taxes have been patiently ſubmitted to by the public, but individuals have contributed their private fortunes to an enormous amount. In a word, no Adminiſtration, I believe, ever received a greater degree of ſupport, both from parliament and people, than the preſent have experienced; and, therefore, that Adminiſtration muſt incur the blame, of either having ſhamefully neglected, or groſsly miſapplied, thoſe powers wherewith they were intruſted.

I know it has been, and I take for granted will be urged in favour of Miniſters, that they have been continually thwarted in their plans by the artful machinations of oppoſition, not only by ill judged or ſeditious principles publickly avowed, but likewiſe by the ſecret practices of diſappointed men. For argument ſake, I will ſuppoſe this aſſertion to be proved, and upon that ſingle ground ſhall bring a more ſerious charge than any I have yet proved againſt them.

I mean that of having, from an unpardonable degree of puſillanimity, ſuffered their perſonal opponents to counteract the moſt important plans

plans of Government. From their own timid connivance they become Partners in the guilt; with this only difference, the criminality of the others may be ſuppoſed to ſpring from a ſource frequently productive of good as well as bad effects—I mean ambition; while theirs can alone be derived from that moſt contemptible of cauſes, Timidity.

Were a ſtranger, who knew nothing of our country but it's language, to be introduced into our houſes of Parliament during the courſe of the debate, he would imagine himſelf preſent at the pleading of a moſt extraordinary cauſe; and from a ſort of technical language common to all parties, would infer, that the Minority, and every individual out of doors, were Plaintiffs againſt the K——, and the majority Defendants. His conjecture would ſurely be excuſable; for while the *heat* of debate is ſuffered to carry people away from the immediate object of diſcuſſion, and to become little better than the *vehicle* of perſonal invective, the ſtranger cannot be expected to form any favourable ideas of either branch of our legiſlature in particular, or of our conſtitution in general.

To a want of caution in ſome of our firſt characters, I muſt attribute a fatal idea entertained by

by too many, of ſeparate intereſts in the King and people. An idea, I am convinced, not leſs unconſtitutional in it's principle, than dangerous in it's tendency. Their cauſe is one, their diſtreſs or proſperity is mutual; bound by the ſame laws, the preſervation and obſervance of thoſe laws is a duty equally incumbent on them both; and, from their effect alone, can the Sovereign, or the meaneſt ſubject in his dominions, derive ſecurity. The King's miniſters are not only to be conſidered as ſervants of the Crown, but as ſervants of the People: conſequently, their political character requires them to act conſiſtently with that duty they owe the public; the executive part of government naturally falls to their lot; and, in the adminiſtration of it, if they ſuffer themſelves to be intimidated by any man, or ſet of men, they betray their truſt.

This plea, my Lord, (true or falſe, I know not) which they have brought againſt their opponents, being the only one I have heard urged by the friends of Adminiſtration, in excuſe for their apparent want of conduct or ability, I thought merited ſome notice; and to their own advocates, I muſt aſcribe the origin of my laſt charge againſt them.

I

I have now, my Lord, troubled your Lordſhip with thoſe reaſons which have convinced me that a change is requiſite, and have pointed out to you thoſe Miniſters whoſe removal appears to me eſſentially neceſſary to the public welfare; I beg leave now to addreſs myſelf more particularly to your Lordſhip, not only upon thoſe grounds I mentioned in the beginning of my letter, but from motives of a ſtill more perſonal nature.

The moment, my Lord, you were by your Sovereign intruſted with the cuſtody of the Great Seal of England, your Lordſhip's acknowledged abilities, and manly conduct, both in your Profeſſional and Senatorial capacity, joined to your new ſituation in the Cabinet, preſented you to public view a great political character. Every individual, who wiſhed well to Government, rejoiced at the appointment.

Unconnected with any party, either in doors or without, I can only anſwer for my own thoughts on the occaſion—I conceived the moſt flattering hopes of public proſperity being reſtored, from the opinion I entertained of two of his Majeſty's then Miniſters; thinking them poſ-

ſeſſed

ſeſſed of great political abilities, and of an active manly turn of mind—to them and to them only I looked up with confidence, (nor was I, I believe, ſingle in my opinion—numbers, I am certain, entertained the ſame ſentiments). From the efforts of theſe two Miniſters, I expected Government would have derived importance, and indolence and indeciſion have been forced to give way to firmneſs and activity. The two miniſters I allude to, were your Lordſhip and the late Lord Preſident. Judge then, my Lord, how all theſe hopes were blaſted—when I found that noble Lord declare himſelf incapable of remaining longer of the Cabinet, conſiſtently with *honour* to himſelf, or ſervice to the public—and when I heard your Lordſhip, I believe not the very ſame day, but a very ſhort time after, declare as publickly, That though from your office you muſt be conſidered as reſponſible for public meaſures, you did not take any part in the political buſineſs of the Cabinet, but confined yourſelf ſolely to the line of your Profeſſion—that moment, my Lord, was the laſt in which I entertained the ſmalleſt degree of confidence in his Majeſty's Miniſters—that declaration of your Lordſhip, carried conviction in it, to almoſt all who heard it, of the abſolute neceſſity of an eſſential change both of men and meaſures.

The

The ingenious author of ſome letters lately publiſhed, addreſſed to the Earl of Carliſle, condemns the idea of any Retroſpect: in this general aſſertion, I muſt beg leave to differ with him; though great care ſhould be obſerved in the conduct of it. No Retroſpect proceeding from a peeviſh or vindictive ſpirit, can be beneficial; but, on the contrary, a cool diſpaſſionate reviſion of public management, becomes neceſſary, from every motive of policy and ſound reaſoning. Juſtice to thoſe who are ſuſpected of miſconduct, would ſuggeſt the idea, if the public utility were out of the queſtion. Miniſters may have proceeded upon wrong grounds, though from the moſt laudable motives, They may have been deceived, and miſrepreſentation may have produced the moſt fatal effects—on the other hand, Miniſters may either have been negligent, or criminal. At all events, a Retroſpect will at leaſt produce the good effect, of diſcloſing the hidden cauſes of our preſent unhappy ſituation; and it will be ſome conſolation to thoſe, under whoſe Adminiſtration we are reduced to it, if they can prove themſelves unfortunate only, not guilty.

The ſole purpoſe of this Letter, (after having ſtated thoſe reaſons which have convinced me of

the

the neceſſity of a change in adminiſtration) is to call upon your Lordſhip, in the moſt earneſt, though reſpectful manner, to contribute that *weight of* influence which your ſtation and abilities give you a right to *demand*, to ..d the great work of our political ſalvation. Your Lordſhip being the only perſon in the adminiſtration, whom every party ſeems to reſpect, it is from you alone we can hope for redreſs.

Your own penetration, joined to your acquaintance with many men of the greateſt abilities, naturally render you a competent judge of the eſſential benefits, which muſt ariſe from the employing theſe men in the public ſervice. The ſame talents, which, actuated by diſappointed ambition, ſhake government to it's centre, might in a contrary ſituation, render it permanent, and give weight and efficacy to it's meaſures. It is a melancholy, but a no leſs certain fact, that at this moment of public difficulty, your Lordſhip excepted, the cabinet is as barren in point of abilities, as of property. In ſhort, my Lord, it affords no ground for hope to it's Friends, nor for deſpondency to it's Enemies. Indeciſive in the forming, irreſolute in the execution of it's plans, it is become an object of general contempt: nor is there, I preſume, a like-

lihood of it's retrieving the ſmalleſt portion of it's former ſplendour, ſo long as thoſe who now *diſgrace* it, are ſuffered to continue there.

To remove from his Majeſty's councils thoſe Miniſters, whoſe weakneſs or wickedneſs have tarniſhed the honour of his Crown, and whoſe meaſures have brought his dominions to their preſent melancholy ſituation; to remedy thoſe evils which their Adminiſtration hath given riſe to, and by adopting a new ſyſtem to reſtore the national honour and public confidence, is the important task I wiſh to impoſe upon your Lordſhip. Arduous as it may appear, let us not deem it impracticable (for in that caſe we are no longer a people). Your Principles, my Lord, I have no doubt, incline you to the general proſperity: and when your Lordſhip conſiders the preſent ſituation of the country, you cannot, ſurely, refrain one moment from exerting thoſe ſuperior talents you poſſeſs, in order to complete the glorious work of Reformation.

FINIS.